

592 /30 cont'd/

594 seems to be more prevalent. It is not uncommon to see a Miao
596 family of eight to ten people, of three generations, father, son,
grandson, living in a single thatched hut.

592 A family at the least consists of a man, his wife, and their
593 children. The father is, of course, the head of the family, who is
562 in charge of the affairs of the whole family. Every member of the
family must obey his directions in everyday family work, and even
in personal behavior each receives his concern. For instance, in the
[582] marriage of sons and daughters, although free choice as the basis of
584 marriage is permitted in many cases, there are also many marriages
which are arbitrarily determined by the head of the family. In the
latter case, the children have no of raising objections. General-
ly, the father in a Miao family is more powerful and respected than
he is in a Li family.

593 There is a big difference in another aspect, the position of the
171 man and woman in the family. The Miao women are submissive.
From what I have heard, this is completely different from the
manner of the Li women. It is easy for a Miao husband to give
orders to his wife while the Li husband is unable to do so. However,

• 595 it is rather strange that polygamy is completely forbidden among
the Miao. Regardless of whether he is wealthy or not, or whether
he has a son /31/ or not, a Miao husband can never take a second
wife (i.e. concubine), unless his first wife has died. For instance,
the Miao headman, Lu Tsun-ying, is generally considered to be
wealthy and influential. He is already fifty years old and is still
without an heir, but he has no intention of taking a concubine. We
have not yet been able to point out clearly the background which
has created this kind of rule. The following two points may serve
as possible explanations. In the first place, the Miao have only a

[1182] limited area of land, and it is hard for them to make a living on it.
Forbidding concubinage may serve to avoid the problem of overpopu-
lation. Secondly, they have strictly followed the rule of marriage
[582] within the group (i.e., a Miao may only marry a Miao). But the
entire Miao population is not very large. In order to maintain a
balance between the male and female population, monogamy must

/31 cont'd/

- 595 be upheld; otherwise the balance would be upset, and a "wilderness of single men" would be inevitable.

428 When the head of a family dies, his property is equally divided among his sons (if they live separately). If he does not have sons, his property is inherited by his relatives. Women do not have the right of inheritance, with the exception of the daughter whose husband comes to live in her family. A son adopted as an heir also has the right to inherit.

597

551 2. Surname and Kin Group

Miao surnames probably go back to the period before the Miao came to Hainan Island. It is of value to find out whether there is any particular social relationship between those who bear the same surname.

There is a copy of a family register in every Miao family. I have seen the family register of the Lin family of Ang-chi village, the cover page of which reads as follows:

539

/32/

601

MAY LONGEVITY INSURE OUR DESTINY TEN THOUSAND YEARS

A BOOK OF THE FAMILY AND ITS BRANCHES COPIED BY LIN YING-LIEN TO BE KEPT AND MAINTAINED FOR A THOUSAND YEARS

MAY BLESSINGS AS HIGH AS THE SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS —
BE TRANSMITTED

In this book the names and dates of birth and death of male and female members of each generation are all written down very clearly. A page is copied as follows:

" This is a certified copy of the register of the Family /tsung/ and its branches in its native region. They settled in Hung-li village, in Szu-en Prefecture in Kwangsi-Fukien province. The three brothers Lin Ming-hsiu, Lin Ming-k'ai, and Lin Ming-yang built a house. They live on the east side of the house facing southwest, which is

/93/

CHAPTER FIVE

THE FAMILY AND MARRIAGE AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS

(1) The Family

594 The basic social organization /sic/ of the Miao is the family, and moreover their family structure is the small family system, which consists of husband, wife, and children under age. This kind of small family system is the original system of the Miao. The Miao Fang Pei Lan, in the chapter on [591] villages, says: "Among the Miao people father and sons and brothers do not live together in one house. When a son grows up he lives apart, erecting a new house and then there is another household." Because of the small family system their [573] living quarters as a rule consist of two or three rooms. In the house there is only one bed, and the husband, wife, and children all sleep on it together. When a girl grows up, a separate bed may be set up for her. As a rule the Miao practice [595] monogamy. Sometimes they take a concubine, to live together with the wife, or to live separately. In the family [462] economy, men and women share agricultural work, but household chores are mainly the women's responsibility. Family [423] property consists of fields, houses, animals, and furniture, [422] tools, and utensils. When the children grow up, a boy gets [582] married at 17 or 18, and is given a certain amount of property in order to build a separate house and establish a family. A girl marries at fifteen or sixteen. So, the small family system among the Miao can always be maintained, and is not likely to be expanded.

614 Because of strict adherence to the small family system, clan organization cannot develop. Among the pure Miao there 551 are the following five surnames: Wu, Lung, Liao, Shih, and Ma. Such surnames as Yang, Shih, P'eng, Chang, and Hung were those of outsiders who married into Miao families and

THE HAINANESE MIAO

49



291
531



round caps with symbols embroidered around the bottom, and sometimes with a few coloured beads on strings used as additional ornaments. The special goodluck charm seems to be worked only on the children's caps. The heathen Miao women wear large silver earrings, and at the weddings the bride wears a long silver chain attached to her two silver hairpins. Physically, the Miao are quite a different type from the Chinese. They are shorter, generally, and more lithe and agile. They are not especially slant-eyed, and their eyes are a lighter, softer brown, often sparkling with a merry twinkle as they talk. They are entirely monogamous, and the husband and wife eat together, work together, and have much more of a normal family life than is seen among the Chinese. The women go to work in the fields or the woods, carrying their babies strapped to their backs much as the Cantonese women carry their children, with an immense palmleaf stuck under the shoulder band, to keep the sun and rain from the child.

301

144

[595]

854
462

[166 cont.]

59/ either remains in the paternal home or ^{*The young couple*} found a new household, in accordance with their choice.

583 Other forms of marriage are also practiced by the "Méo." When an official request in marriage has been refused, it is not rare to see the young people pay no attention to the consent of their parents and elope together. When they return they secure their pardon by paying an indemnity to the parents of the young woman.

[556] A poor "Méo" may wed a rich girl. In this case it is the girl's family that bears all of the expenses of the ceremony, but the married couple enter into a contract to serve this family for a number of years agreed upon.

584
593 In the region of Pha-Long, the "Méo" observe a rather curious custom and hold a sort of "marriage fair," to which come, in great numbers, young men and young women from several leagues roundabout. This gathering is held on a grassy plateau where boys and girls form in groups about twenty paces apart, turning their backs to each other. These groups sing alternating choruses, very simple ones, in which the young men boast of their skill, their strength, and their wealth and the young women glorify their housekeeping virtues and enumerate the treasures of their trousseaux. Often some sprightly word causes mirth throughout the gathering. The laughter, the songs, and the dances of the men playing the "sen" last throughout the entire afternoon. The sellers of alcohol and cakes do a very good business, while the youths and maidens become better acquainted and establish a basis for future unions.

584 It is during the days which follow this festival that the great majority of the official marriage requests are made. (Photo 154, Plate 40, shows the plateau where this marriage fair was held, near Pha-Long, on February 21, 1912. Photo 155, Plate 40 shows the dance of a "sen" player during the festival. Photos 156 and 157, Plate 40 show groups of young women [167] belonging to various "Meo" tribes of the region of Pha-Long who have come to the fair in question.)

● 595 Polygamy is authorized, although it is rare for the "Méo" to take a second wife, except when the first one remains sterile.

/32 cont. /

597 Married couples may adopt any number of children; no
limits are set. In connection with the adoption of a strange and
[582] purchased child, the ancestors and the god of heaven are offered
the same sacrifice as I described in the case of the adoption of
a child belonging to the sib. From now on the adopted child
[428] bears /33/ the family name of the adoptive parents and is qual-
ified to inherit just like an own child. In relation to the latter
there is no difference in the treatment and legal position of the
adopted children. They are by no means treated as servants, but
[151] are received into the family community with the same ceremony
as a newborn child of one's own sib (cf. the chapter, "Life in
the Community," section on "Naming and Admission into the
Family Community"). Once the adoption is completed, the old
family no longer has any jurisdiction whatsoever over the child
given up, and conversely the new family cannot claim any rights
for this child from its former family.

597 According to information by Dhuraratsadorn (1), among
184

1. Page 167.

the Meau in Thailand parents are not permitted to adopt a child
if they have a son. If they have only daughters, however, and
wish to perpetuate their family, it is said that they adopt a boy
from another family, who then marries one of the daughters and
carries on the name and the family of the adoptive parents. If a
married couple is childless, however, it is said that they are
permitted to obtain only a boy of a related family. If this,
[575] too, is not possible, the wife, according to the author named,
must procure a concubine for her husband, with whom he tries
to perpetuate the family. I did not find confirmation for these
statements.

AKha A04
Miao AE5.

/76 cont./

A
157
[231] Play with lizards and insects, such as beetles and butterflies, is seen much more rarely than among the Meau.
A
M
[516] In all such cases, however, the game ends with the merciless chopping up of the animal, although the children of the Akha have scarcely less manual dexterity than those of the Meau.
[516] The Akha children evidently never hit upon the idea that one could talk with the animals, much less the idea that the animals could understand them.

6. In the Family

A
M
596
[591] The organization of the family is exactly the same among the Akha and Meau. The unit is the large extended family /Grossfamilie/. The sons marry early and, with wife and children, live in the house of their father up to a certain time, as has already been discussed in detail (see the chapter, "Social Organization," section on "Family Units").

A
M
595 Savina (1) attributes monogamy to the Meau. Undoubtedly,

however:

1. II, p. 184.

however, polygamy is involved here; indeed, it is even more common among the Meau than among the Akha. Even though the poorer people live monogamously, this is the case among almost all polygamous peoples. The decisive point is simply the legally permitted form of marriage, and the fact that polygamy is permitted cannot be denied.

A
M
183
842
163
M
595
596 For both peoples the ideal of life is to be blessed with as many children as possible. Thus the number of children living in each house is considerable. The Akha are even more prolific than the Meau. Among them almost every small /nuclear/ family /Kleinfamilie/ consisted of the parents and eight to twelve children. Naturally, the difference in age between the oldest and the youngest child in a house is very great. One Meau, for instance, /77/ who lived with two wives in one house, had eleven children, six of whom were already married and, with their wives and children, no longer lived

AKha AOT
Miao AES

/77 cont. /

M
595
596
with him. The oldest son of this Meau was twenty-eight; the youngest child, a girl, was three years old. There is no greater attachment among the children of one of the small families in the house than there is among all the children of the household, since the unit is, after all, the large family. Their attachment is governed by age, for it is self-evident that the twenty-eight-year-old husband finds his half brothers or sisters of approximately the same age more congenial than his three-year-old sister. On the other hand, the bond between the members of a large family is positively like iron, and between the children who live under one roof there is a much greater attachment than between them and the other children of the sib who live in another house. Among the Meau not only the members of the sib, but also the unfree (see the chapter, "Social Organization," section on "Organization of the Family") who live under the same roof belong to the "large family" unit.

A
M
596
[858]
The position of the children in the community is that of the most precious possession a person can have. On the other hand, the necessity of maintaining peace and order within such a large community living under one roof presupposes absolute congeniality among its members and the authority of the head of the community to an extent that is scarcely conceivable to us under European conditions. If any European were to imagine that, among us, thirty and more members of a family with mothers-in-law and sons- and daughters-in-law, not counting own and adopted children, were supposed to manage a household jointly in one house, it is a thought that might well frighten him. Among the Akha as well as among the Meau this problem is solved by the authoritarian principle within the large family.

A
M
[858]
The position of the small children resembles that of small work animals. The older ones are regarded as unpaid workers who unconditionally have to carry out all the orders of the head of the large family, and in fact do this. The head of the large family is the only one who has absolute ownership rights over all the members of the community under his roof; among the Meau the head even has /78/ the power of life and death over the members of the community, but not among the Akha. Next to the head, the father has the most rights. Only after

AKha A04
MIRD AED

/78 cont. /

A a son has built his own home does he himself come to enjoy
 M the rights of a head of a family. It has already been explained
 596 in detail (chapter on "Social Organization," section on "Family
 A Units") that this position is never abused. It is obvious that along
 M with the head of the family his chief wife has a decisive part
 • [595] in the rearing of the children. Only the sponsor has some rights
 [608] with regard to the children (see "Naming and Admission into
 the Family Community," in this chapter), but he, too, must
 defer to the commands of the father or head of the family. On
 A the other hand, the sib from which the mother comes after her
 M marriage, does not have the slightest right or obligation con-
 [614] cerning the children (see the chapter, "Social Organization,"
 the section on "Organization of the Family").

A Among the Meau, the rearing of the children is in general
 M first of all incumbent upon the head of the large family and his
 855 chief wife, and only secondarily upon the parents of the chil-
 596 dren. Among the Akha, on the other hand, the rearing is pri-
 M marily the business of the parents, while the grandparents merely
 [595] help. The care of the small children, as well as the rearing of
 A the girls, is chiefly the task of the women; the rearing of the
 [603] boys, that of the men (Ill. 63). I also saw fathers, however, who
 spent hours with their two- and three-year old daughters, letting
 them ride on their backs and romping about with them. In one
 case, a little Meau girl began to cry inconsolably when the head
 of the large family, in this case the grandfather of the child,
 took up his rifle, for the child knew that he was about to go hunting,
 which meant a separation of several days.

A The basis of child-rearing among both the Akha and
 M Meau is to have examples imitated (Ill. 64). There are only
 868 a few difficult and complicated work procedures, such as
 forging, tool-making, the working of precious metals and the
 making of weapons, hunting of big game, the preparation of
 opium, weaving -- and among the Meau all the processes con-
 nected with batik work, especially the design of the patterns --
 which cannot be learned automatically in play. They require
 precise explanations and detailed /79/ instructions, and from
 the start the parents show an indefatigable patience and good
 nature and constantly endeavor to point out to their pupils
 their mistakes.

1 [see out 116, p469 - ANALYST]

2 [" " " p470 - "]

AKha A04
Miao AES

/80 cont. /

A reached an age when they can think for themselves. Jealousy

M also seems to play no great role among the adults; at any rate,

593 among the Meau I could not find any manifestation of this

858 trait. Meau parents are very loving toward all their children

[152] and, as was pointed out, regard them as their most precious possession.

A I repeatedly had the opportunity to observe how wives

M delouse their husbands while the latter were simultaneously

515 performing this charitable act on their children (Ill. 62).¹ The

593 parasites that they caught were placed between the thumb nails and cracked with pleasure. It was a picture of a family idyl!

M The love of the chief of the Meau for his wives and his children

593 was always apparent. Concerning this, I noted in my journal:

595 "He never disposes of their property without consulting them.

425 If they are sick, he is meticulous in providing them with every-
758 thing they need, even with opium." I have asked many Meau

276 parents what their goal was in rearing their children. In the

185 plans they mentioned, the idea of security was decidedly
614 secondary, as is only natural. After all, the sib takes care of

736 its members, and even if later on a person should survive all
the other members of his sib, he would, if it came to the

worst, place himself as an unfree person under the protection of an existing powerful sib (see the chapter, "Social Organization," the section on "Organization of the Family"). Of the

185 eight persons whom I asked about this, only one made a remark in which one could see the idea of security implied, but more as referring to himself. He was a chief with three wives and

many children. He said to me: "Yes; now I am well off; I am rich and have many children who work for me. But when I was young, things were different. I was all alone with my first wife; we were poor and had to work hard, and yet we were hardly able to make a living, and we often had to go hungry."

M The educational ideals of the Meau, which became manifest

[858] from the answers to my questions on the subject, differed according to the individual talents of the parents. Aside from

that, however, they did not differ essentially among the two

sexes. /Colored Pl. I appears here on an unnumbered page. /

¹[See cat 116, P450-ANALYST]

/90 cont. /

577 he has been, the boy will answer that he /91/ was delayed on
 836 the hunt. The girl will say that she spent the time looking for
 some object, or that she stayed overnight with a girl friend,
 or give some other such excuse. When I quite innocently asked
 a young man who was returning from his three-day excursion
 where he had been, he replied in all seriousness: "Wild pigs
 have devastated our rice field, and I lay in wait for them.
 They were too clever, however, and I could not catch them."
 At the same time, his father, who had overheard our conversa-
 tion, winked at me and later whispered into my ear: "He re-
 turned dead-tired from a visit to his girl."

581 For the Meau, the decisive factor in the selection of a
 female partner is not the social position, but the physical
 characteristics of the girl. When I asked a Meau who would
 [732] marry a stupid girl -- it was a case of cretinism, which occurs
 [143] rather frequently -- he answered me briefly and characteristi-
 cally: "A stupid man," even though in this case the girl be-
 longed to a powerful and rich sib. The fact that girls at the
 [585] moment of marriage completely give up their connection with
 [614] their sib and enter the sib of the husband may play an important
 role in this. Among the girls of the Meau, on the other hand,
 even though they are not concerned specifically about the social
 position of the man, there are other significant factors that are
 not connected with sexuality. This is indicated in the reply of
 girls whom I questioned about the type of man they would like
 to have. In one form or another the answer was always: "Clever
 and strong, in order to master life." Not a single one put any
 value on a handsome or "dashing" man. The closeness to
 nature of the Meau permits the girls to see clearly what
 proficiency in the primeval forest life means. To be sure, I
 never met a single incompetent man among the Meau. The
 stern laws of nature would soon cause him to disappear from
 this society,

• 595 Married people customarily have sexual ~~intercourse~~ at night in their
 833 bedroom. In answer to my question as to what the other wives
 513 do if the husband, who shares his bed with all of his wives,
 bestows his attention on one, my informant said: "The others

Miao AES

/91 cont. /

• 595 sleep." Another gave the opinion: "He enjoys himself with
833 several at the same time"; a third said: "The others look on."
513 Even though, as I /92/ could observe, the natives sleep so
soundly as a rule that one can pull the sleeping mats from under
the body or, as I literally experienced, can fire a gun without
awakening them, still I cannot believe that young wives in
particular sleep as soundly as my informant's maintained. How-
ever, that may be, in any case it is certain that a woman never
has intercourse with several men at the same time; the reverse
is more likely.

183 As has been mentioned, among the Meau the public de-
836 mands chastity of young girls in order that the young men,
[562] whose marriage is desired as early as possible, will soon decide
to take this step. This demand is untenable, however, for, on
the one hand, the young men, as was discussed in detail, enjoy

[584] complete freedom, and, on the other hand, it is the boy who
chooses a girl to marry. Since the girls, however, are censured
only if caught in the act, they generally have no objection to
premarital sexual intercourse, which they secretly submit to
against the wish and will of their parents, although maintaining
secrecy is very difficult if only for external reasons, in view of
the smallness of the Meau villages. In fact, my informants
laconically answered my question as to what they would do if
they discovered that their daughters were having a love affair:
"We could do nothing if there were no consequences." As far

[584] as I was able to observe, the girls take advantage of this situa-
tion, depending upon when they marry, which is usually at the
age of twenty or twenty-one. Lajonquière (1) and Abadie (2).

1. II. p. 315.

2. Page 151.

for instance, write that "the virtue of the girls is not beyond
reproach," and that in practice the Meau attach little im-
portance to this fact.

AKha A09
Miao AES

/93 cont. /

M
114 an attempt is made, with the help of medicines, to bring about
847 an abortion. If this is unsuccessful, the child is abandoned
848 after birth and dies of hunger." These statements, which
Abadie (2) repeats verbatim, do not agree, as has been said.

2. Page 165.

with my findings.

M
827 Among the Meau the average age of marriage for the
582 young men is between sixteen and seventeen, that of the girls
about four years later.

[163] In explanation of this age difference, I was told that it is
only after this age that a girl's body is strong enough to bear
without harm the minimum of ten children expected of a
woman. Earlier births are said to weaken the organism, and the
women turn into invalids and are no longer able to do the
proper amount of work. The /94/ young men, on the other
hand, are able to beget strong children at a much earlier age.

M
595 As a consequence of this attitude the first wife of a Meau
[152] is generally older, more mature, and stronger than her husband.
[559] The younger, later wives can therefore be all the more easily
absorbed into the household, especially since jealousy plays no
role at all. The first wife is the chief wife, to whom all the
other wives are subordinate in every respect. Accordingly,
she has a position of trust within the community.

A
864 Among the Akha the father sleeps with the unmarried
[519] sons, the mother with the unmarried girls, each in one room
[899] of the dwelling. During the night the father visits the mother,
or vice versa, "when everybody is asleep," as my informant
put it. Thus, even in the parents' house there is no barrier to
prevent the children from observing sexual activities from the
M
[842] earliest age. Like the Meau, the Akha, too, are well acquainted
with the physiological aspect of paternity. Nevertheless
A
sexual freedom for unmarried persons prevails among them
836

Miao AES

/99 cont. /

515 As a rule, marriages are concluded in the dry season, preferably between New Year and the beginning of the work in the fields.

513
515
[301] Among the Meau, on the wedding day, the bride's parents, according to their means, provide their daughter with silver neck ornaments and rings, and sometimes also with blankets which were bought at the market. The /100/ rest of the trousseau depends on the industry and skill of the girl, who has had to prepare it carefully over the years. This is why the trousseau of a girl from a simple family is often considerably more beautiful than that of a daughter of a distinguished household, even if the poor girl usually lacks the silver ornaments and purchased goods. The latter, on the other hand, sometimes are the entire trousseau of a rich, pleasure-seeking, and therefore lazy girl, according to my informant.

515 The bride is led to the groom's house by her mother and all her kinswomen. As soon as their approach is announced by the scouts posted for this, the bridegroom, accompanied by his parents and relatives, goes out to meet her. The bride is now festively greeted, but without dancing, and is led by the bridegroom into the house of his parents. This often makes the **[52]** bride weep, for with this step into marriage her life up to this time is ended and an uncertain future begins. Now the head of **[712]** the large /extended/ family makes a sacrifice to the ancestors, **[769]** informs them that a new member of the family has been received, and asks them to give her the same protection that they extend to the other members of the family.

[574] Everybody sits down to the feast, which lasts far into the night. As a rule three pigs are slaughtered for it, but **[554]** among poor people there may be fewer and among rich people **[273]** more; in addition plenty of alcohol distilled from rice or maize is served, but no beer. The bride spends the first three nights with the unmarried girls of the family, and not until the fourth evening does she move to the bed of her husband in his sleeping quarters, which he, as a married son of the house, has exclusively for himself and his wives. Here she shares his bed with him and, in case he is already married, with his other wives.

[513]
[595]

/100 cont./

595 On the wedding day the bridegroom, or his family, has
 [513] to pay the bride's parents a sum of money fixed in advance. For the first wife this is about 150-200 pieces of silver the value of which corresponds approximately to the mark; for wives married later several times this amount is often given, since the first wife, who is regarded as the chief wife (nǎ thō), does not do any work herself once there are additional wives, but merely passes along the husband's orders to the younger wives (nǎ yō) /101/ and supervises their work. The husband himself does not give any orders to the younger wives. It is therefore a desirable position to be the chief wife in a household with several wives, and since any wife married later has to obey all the wives married earlier and therefore outranking her, a hard life usually begins for such a young wife upon her marriage, and cohabitation is only poor compensation for it, even though the husband usually prefers her as the younger.

184 The customs described by various other authors, each
 585 according to the region that he surveyed, are somewhat different. Savina, for instance, writes (1): "The wedding feast is

1. II. p. 226.

[264] celebrated by the parents and parents-in-law. Men and women
 [782] never sit together at the same table. At the end of the meal the bridegroom bows silently before the ancestors. Then the money that the guests brought with them is counted, and the trousseau of the bride is inspected. Weeping, the latter sings
 585 the wedding song:
 533

'Attracted by the singing of the decoy, the poor forest bird lets itself be caught by a snare. Imprisoned in a cage, it sadly watches its comrades fly in freedom.

'Oh, poor mother! Who will now get up early in the morning to light the fire on your hearth? Who will prepare the meal for you, who will tend your chickens and pigs? Who will go into the forest to look for firewood, who will fetch water from the spring? Who will split your hemp, who will weave your linen?'"

/103 cont./

184 the bride into the house of the bridegroom, and when ap-
 585 propriate offerings have been made to the spirits and the rela-
 tives of both families have celebrated sufficiently, the wedding
 is over. Before giving their final consent, however, the bride's
 [583] parents demand 'ngõn sin sot,' the money which is required for
 the wedding ceremony, from the bridegroom in accordance with
 their position and their expenses, but at least 150 ticals

[426] but if the groom should be unable to raise such a sum at the
 moment, the bride's parents give it to him on credit."

583 This extending of credit for the purchase price is con-
 426 firmed by the other two authors. Lajonquière (3), for instance,

3. II. p. 316.

writes in this connection: "If a young man cannot raise the
 sum required for a splendid wedding, he is still able to ask for
 the hand of even a rich girl. The family of the latter then
 defrays all the costs of the celebration. In turn the young
 couple is obligated to serve for one or several years in the
 house of the girl's parents or to buy themselves free by paying
 a certain sum." These statements were likewise borrowed by
 [114] Abadie (1) /see footnote 1 above/ almost verbatim.

595 It may also happen, however, that a man does not choose
 a young and pretty girl as his secondary wife, but a widow with
 many children, in order to acquire a work force. The chief
 wife, of course, benefits most from this in every respect, since
 all this work force is directly under her. Such marriages are
 therefore viewed happily and actually favored by the chief wife.

114 Lajonquière's statements (3) /see footnote 3 above/ which
 184 we find repeated verbatim in Abadie (4) and according to
 595

4. Page 167.

which polygamy is permitted among the Meau, but the Meau
 takes a second wife only if the first one has remained sterile.

Miao AE5

/104/

114 may perhaps be true for certain regions where the Meau find
184 themselves in especially tight economic straits. Dhuraratsa-
595 dorn (1) probably writes more accurately: "A man may take

1. Page 169.

as many wives as he wishes, but he needs the permission of his chief wife to do so. The concubines have to work for the husband and the chief wife like ordinary servants." Savina (2) adds that

2. II. p. 226.

polygamy is widespread among some tribes of the Meau, but is unknown among others.

583 Among the Meau the bride price plays an important role;
614 the entire large /extended/ family of the young husband helps
[596] to raise it. If the wife should for any reason later return to her parents, they must pay it back. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the sib is very interested in the good conduct of the married couple and is intent on not letting dissension between the young people become serious.

184 Abadie (3) reports on a strange custom which he describes
584

3. Page 166.

as follows from the Meau of the Pha-Long region: "They arrange a kind of marriage market. Here young men and girls, who have come from the surrounding area for several miles, meet one another. This meeting takes place on a plateau covered with grass. The young men and girls form groups which, at a distance of about twenty paces, turn their backs to each other.

[533] These groups sing simple antiphonal songs in which the young men boast of their skill, strength, and wealth, while the young girls extol their housewifely virtues and the richness of their trousseau. A droll word often arouses general merriment; the laughter, singing, and dancing of the men, who play the

AKha A04
Miao AE 5

/107 cont. /

M had had a dispute with her husband and had fled for a few days
593 to the house of her parents, who did not want to let her go
123 again because they were sick and urgently needed their daughter
as a worker. They wanted the daughter and the son-in-law
to live with them a while. The latter, however, did not ap-
prove of this at all and heaped reproaches upon his wife. When
I sent my interpreter to the husband, a young man barely eighteen
years old, in order to get his version of the story, he com-
plained bitterly and said: "This woman is too strong for me.
If we have a quarrel, she beats me! Look, you are big and
strong; you could beat her. Would you not like to marry her?"

M With the help of the chief the dispute was finally settled
[622] in the peaceable manner of the Meau: the young woman re-
[627] turned to her husband, but from now on was allowed to help
her parents with the work as often as they wished.

M The position of young Meau wives has been strongly in-
593 fluenced by the Chinese and from our point of view is not very
• 595 enviable. She has to show unquestioning obedience, first of all
[177] to her mother-in-law, secondly to her own husband, and thirdly
[606] to her father-in-law. If her husband has already married sev-
eral wives, she must also obey all of them, as has already been
mentioned. The only prospect she has is that eventually,
when her husband has built his own house /108/ and the other
wives who preceded her have died, she may occupy the
coveted position of the nă thō. As soon as her husband has
built his own house, the position of the young wife improves,
[606] for at that moment her obligation to obey her mother-in-law
ceases. In view of the aforementioned compatibility of the
Meau within the family community, however, the members
of a household community generally get along very well.
Unhappy wives are rare, I am inclined to say much rarer than
in Europe. The daily work required in the struggle for survival
leaves the people little time to worry about superfluous matters.

A Among the Akha, although the mother-in-law does not play
595 such an important role in the life of the young woman, the
[606] first and therefore the chief wife of a husband enjoys all the
[422] more authority. All the wives wedded later must obey her un-
questioningly; all the household furnishings, and sometimes

/112 cont./

586 extremely rare and usually the parents straighten out the
769 matter. If there is a divorce nevertheless, the ancestors are
not informed and no sacrifice is offered, lest the ancestors' attention be drawn to the unpleasant fact.

586 Among the Meau a husband has no divorce-right. This
837 is only logical since it is possible for him to marry another girl
at any time. The wife, on the other hand, can get a divorce,
though this is somewhat difficult. To begin with, the only
grounds for divorce for her is her own marital infidelity and
her flight with the seducer. First of all, therefore, she has
[558] to find a man who is willing to shoulder the unpleasant aspects
of adultery and the ensuing loss of his prestige.

[64] If the adulteress refuses to return to her husband, the
adulterer and seducer, or his family, must repay the bride
price to the deceived husband. If he is not able to do this at
once, he must pay it in installments, /113/ and this may
sometimes take a long time. All of the woman's children
[851] who were born before the complete recovery of the bride price
belong to the former husband. The future children belong to
the new husband only after the final payment of the bride
price.

Moreover, the adulterer sought must be able to take upon
[614] himself the enmity of the family of the husband, which is no
578 easy matter if this is a powerful sib. It is precisely in such
595 sibs, however, that unhappy wives are the most common.
The husband is often old, has several wives, and is able to buy
his new wife by reason of his money. She, in turn, had looked
forward to a different life and instead is treated badly by the
wives superior to her, but especially by her mother-in-law,
whereas the husband pays no attention to her.

Since the regulations mean a heavy burden for the new
husband, it is not easy for a wife eager for a divorce to obtain
her freedom.

586 If the wife of a Meau sees absolutely no way out and yet
648 wishes to leave her husband, she turns to a Chinese trader (see
587 the chapter, "Trade"). They travel around a great deal and
[583] know all the Meau villages and the conditions prevailing among

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/114 cont. /

I did not find confirmation for Seidenfaden's assertion (1)

1. II.

that childless wives seek concubines for their husbands. It would be illogical anyway, because the husband can either acquire children from elsewhere through adoption or put an end to his childlessness through a new marriage, wholly as he wishes.

Among the Akha the husband may send his wife away at any time, and theoretically he alone is entitled to obtain a divorce. If he has such an intention, he has his wife prepare, not the customary disjointed chicken, but a whole one. Then both eat of it, and the husband bids his wife to be on her way. In practice, however, the Akha wife is also in a position to obtain a divorce. In such a case she simply runs away and asks her brother or some other male relative to go to see her husband and redeem her. To this end the husband is paid ten pieces of silver.

The wife's laziness and the husband's inability to support his wife are grounds for divorce. Property, house furnishings, and the like, as well as the legitimate children, remain with the husband; Telford (2) also reports this concerning the

2. Page 149.

children. Personal ornaments and clothing, however, belong to the wife, who, after the divorce, returns to the house of her parents, unless she was seduced and marries the adulterer. If there are children from such an adulterous relationship, they always belong to the lover who has taken the woman.

In case of adultery, the lover must pay a large pig and /115/ 36 pieces of silver to the deceived husband, but the adulteress goes to the seducer. A wife deceived by her husband, however, returns to the house of her parents and takes with her all the house furnishings and the kitchen equipment. Moreover, the adulterer has to pay ten pieces of silver and defray

/265 cont. /

[592] is the shaman of the village. Personal name, Plai Tschau;
 [62] family name, Sen Ku. He is a /266/ brother of the deceased
 [551] father of the chief. The housewife comes from the Meau
 village Muang Hu (north of Luang Prabang). Eight of her chil-
 [164] dren died at a later age, presumably of malaria. Three of them
 [734] died only a year ago within one week, which indicates an
 epidemic. The youngest son, 23 years of age, is completely
 paralyzed. He lives in the house with his young wife.

[513] House 4: It has only one open bedroom for the entire
 family, and one for strangers. The father of the house is a son
 of the shaman. The housewife comes from the Meau village of
 Pu Kung; she has three boys and two girls. One child died.

[342] House 5: The walling of the house is merely halved bam-
 [513] boo stalks. It has only one sleeping area for the father and the
 infant. The married son and his wife sleep on mats on the
 [551] ground. The father of the house is a White Meau with the per-
 sonal name of Tschai Su, family name Tau. The housewife
 died a short time ago and five children have died; only the oldest
 son and an infant are living.

[622] House 6: House of the village chief (see the ground plan,
 [551] Fig. 63). Personal name, Pan Sung; family name, Sen Ku (the
 Lao call him Tsin Tsai). By his first wife, who died four years
 ago, he had 11 children, one of whom died. By his second,
 [587] present wife he has two children, two and three years of age. His
 wife brought seven children into the marriage. In addition, he
 has in his house the cousin of the White Meau of house 5 as
 • [595] his secondary wife, but no children by her. Two married sons
 with wives also live in the house.

House 7: See the groundplan, Fig. 67. The father of the
 [551] house is a White Meau: personal name, You Wu; family name,
 Tau. He is the youngest brother of the father of house 5, that
 [756] is to say, the cousin of the third wife of the chief. The house-
 wife is a White Meau and a female shaman. She had seven
 children; three adult sons died two years ago, one after another,
 [731] of cholera. The surviving members of the family therefore fled
 [164] to relatives in Nam Fa.

/342 cont. /

224 animal victim, such as an imitation of the "piping" of a mouse and the like.

Whereas for stalking firearms are used as a rule, in ambush the Meau prefer the noiseless crossbow with the effective poisoned bolts.

[123] How skilled the Meau are as hunters was revealed at my very first meeting with them. Later, besides my medical knowledge, it was precisely my hunting ability that was decisive for the success of my ethnographic work, even though it was considerably inferior to that of some of the Meau. For example, one of my informants, a man of about forty-five, 224 had bagged a great deal of game with his primitive weapons 434 during his lifetime, which also affected him economically. 556 He had killed more than 20 elephants, and for the ivory of [439] each of them he was paid 200 to 400 ticals by the Chinese [435] traders. Since one only needs to add 10 per cent to arrive at the amount in marks, that amounts to 220 to 440 marks /343/ for each tusk. Moreover, he had killed two rhinoceros, each of which brought him 800 ticals. Considerable sums had likewise flowed in to him for buffalo horns and stag antlers, whose number he no longer knew because he had killed so many of these animals. This is immediately understandable if one remembers that the Thailanders and especially the [439] Chinese pay a thousand ticals for the first growth of the horns [435] of a stag in its second year /for the horns of the Kolbenhirsch/. because it is regarded as a precious aphrodisiac. Even though the traders undoubtedly gained many times this amount, nevertheless such proceeds from hunting booty are of great importance. My informant had this to thank for being able to • [595] buy three wives. Apart from the material side, however, such success in hunting, considering the situation with regard to game in northern Thailand, represents a prodigious hunting accomplishment which a European with precision rifles could scarcely match, whereas my informant had only his primitive weapons at his disposal.